

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6316

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 04241

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (GENSCHER, HANS DIETRICH), GW, US
SUBJECT: YOUR TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHE
NEXT WEEK

1. I AM SURE THAT YOU ARE BEING FULLY AND EXCELLENTLY
BRIEFED IN THE DEPARTMENT FOR YOUR UPCOMING TALKS WITH
GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHE, BUT I WANT TO SEND
YOU THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS, BASED IN PART ON SOUNDINGS
WITH GENSCHE'S IMMEDIATE STAFF, IN THE HOPE THAT THEY
WILL ALSO BE USEFUL TO YOU.

2. PURPOSE OF GENSCHE'S TRIP.

GENSCHE IS GOING TO WASHINGTON NOW IN ORDER TO
GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING FOR THE FUTURE DIRECTION
OF US FOREIGN POLICY. AS YOU KNOW, GENSCHE HAD A
CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR PREDECESSOR, A
RELATIONSHIP WHICH HE VALUED FOR THE BENEFITS IT
BROUGHT HIM PERSONALLY AND BECAUSE HE BELIEVED IT
SERVED GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS WELL. HE WISHES TO
ESTABLISH THE SAME KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WITH YOU.

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NATIONAL AND PERSONAL PRESTIGE CONSIDERATIONS
OBVIOUSLY PLAY A ROLE IN THIS. GENSCHE BELIEVES
THAT THE GERMANS SHOULD BE AMONG THE FIRST OF OUR
MAJOR ALLIES TO CONSULT WITH YOU, THOUGH HE RECOGNIZES
THAT THE BRITISH--IN PART BECAUSE OF THEIR EC CHAIR-
MANSHIP--HAVE PRIORITY. HE ALSO HOPES, I UNDERSTAND,

TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT CARTER FOR THE SAME REASON. BUT
GENSCHER REGARDS HIS VISIT PRINCIPALLY
AS AN OCCASION TO LEARN OUR THINKING AND EXCHANGE
VIEWS.

I UNDERSTAND GENSCHER WILL WISH TO
DISCUSS THE
MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND SUCH DETENTE ISSUES AS
MBFR, CSCE, AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.
HE ALSO WILL WISH TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL PROLIFERA-
TION MATTERS, THOUGH HE DOES NOT REPEAT NOT WANT THESE
QUESTIONS TO LIE AT THE CENTER OF HIS CONVERSATIONS
WITH YOU.

3. THE FOLLOWING POINTS ON EACH OF THESE PRINCIPAL
ISSUES MAY BE HELPFUL FOR BACKGROUND.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

GENSCHER ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY WITHIN THE EC AGAINST
PUBLICATION OF THE EC'S RECENTLY DRAFTED DECLARATION ON
THE MIDDLE EAST. HE ALSO GAVE US A FULL BRIEFING ON
THE RESULTS OF HIS TRIP TO THE ARAB CONFRONTATION
STATES IN FEBRUARY. HE HAS SINCE RECEIVED THROUGH HIS
AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON A BRIEFING FROM HABIB ON THE
RESULTS OF YOUR TRIP. GENSCHER WILL BE VISITING
ISRAEL MARCH 16-18. HE WILL BE ANXIOUS TO HEAR WHAT
RABIN TOLD US DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT. GENSCHER

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WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO GUIDANCE YOU MAY WISH TO GIVE HIM FOR HIS TALKS IN ISRAEL. ONE OF THE MEN ACCOMPANYING HIM TO ISRAEL, MINISTER DIRECTOR LOTHAR LAHN, WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON RIGHT AFTER THE ISRAEL TRIP AND WILL BE GIVING US A FULL BRIEFING.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

GENSCHER REGARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA AS THE MOST IMPORTANT THIRD WORLD ISSUE OF TODAY. HE SUPPORTS OUR ATTEMPTS TO AVOID BLOODSHED IN ZIMBABWE. IF YOU NUDGED HIM ON A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT FUND, IT WOULD UNDERLINE OUR INTEREST. HE SUPPORTS OUR POSITION ON SOUTH AFRICA, ALTHOUGH HE SEES LITTLE HOPE OF CHANGE IN THAT COUNTRY'S POLICIES. HE IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA, WHERE SOME 20,000 ETHNIC GERMANS LIVE. THIS IS A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE ISSUE IN GERMAN INTERNAL POLITICS, AND COULD ERUPT IF THE FRG CLOSES ITS CONSULATE IN WINDHOEK (AS IT IS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING). ONE OF THE REASONS THE GERMANS ARE SLOW IN ACCEPTING THE PROPOSED ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND IS BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT WILL MAKE A NAMIBIA FUND INEVITABLE.

BRAZIL.

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OUR CHALLENGE TO THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR DEAL IS REGARDED IN BONN AS THE MOST DIVISIVE AND DANGEROUS ISSUE TO TROUBLE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS IN YEARS. THE REASON WHY GENSCHER WISHED DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO COME HERE THIS WEEK WAS TO AVOID HAVING TO FOCUS HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH THE GERMANS DO NOT WISH THIS TO BE A CENTRAL TOPIC OF GENSCHER'S MEETING WITH YOU, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL COME UP. WHEN IT DOES, I RECOMMEND THAT YOU UNDERLINE OUR DEEP AND CONTINUING CONCERN. YOU MAY WISH TO KEEP IN MIND THAT IT WAS GENSCHER WHO SIGNED THE AGREEMENT FOR THE FRG AND WHO PLAYED A PRINCIPAL ROLE IN GAINING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE, INCLUDING OURS.

MBFR.

IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT US MBFR POLICY REVIEW, WE EXPECT GENSCHER WILL WISH TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS OF WHERE THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE GOING ON MBFR. THUS FAR, GENSCHER HAS BEEN A STAUNCH ADVOCATE OF THE ALLIANCE POSITION BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EVENTUAL PARITY IN MANPOWER AND COLLECTIVITY IN REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY GENSCHER WOULD RENOUNCE EITHER OF THESE ESSENTIALS OF THE FRG POSITION. AT THE SAME TIME, OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, THE SPD HAS LAUNCHED A PUBLIC CAMPAIGN ABOUT "SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS" AS A MEANS TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVING. WHILE THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS IN BONN THAT GENSCHER WAS NO LONGER HOSTILE TO THIS POSSIBLE APPROACH, IT IS NOT NOW CERTAIN HOW HE WOULD VIEW SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATION OF THE ALLIANCE POSITION.

CSCE.

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THE ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS CAST THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE IN A NEW LIGHT

AND GENSCHER WILL WISH TO LEARN FIRSTHAND YOUR THINKING ON THE ISSUE. WE EXPECT GENSCHER WILL SHOW SOME CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE NEGATIVE FALLOUT AT BELGRADE SHOULD THE CURRENT PUBLIC DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTENSIFY AND CAUSE A DETERIORATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. WHILE THE GERMANS ARE GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE US POSITION THAT ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED, IT APPEARS POSSIBLE GENSCHER MAY WARN OF THE DANGERS TO BELGRADE IN PARTICULAR AND THE DETENTE PROCESS IN GENERAL SHOULD THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE BE EMPHASIZED TO THE POINT WHERE IT COULD JEOPARDIZE SOME OF THE GENUINE PROGRESS THAT THE GERMANS FEEL THEY HAVE MADE UNDER THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

SOVIET-WESTERN RELATIONS.

THE FRG IS, OF COURSE, DEEPLY INTERESTED IN WHAT YOU WILL SAY TO THE SOVIETS LATER THIS MONTH IN MOSCOW. THE FRG'S EASTERN POLICY HAS BEEN STALLED SINCE BEFORE

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 04241

EXDIS

THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS OF LAST OCTOBER, AND IT IS NOT
YET CLEAR EXACTLY HOW FAST IT WILL GO FORWARD.
NEVERTHELESS, BREZHNEV IS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO
VISIT BONN SOMETIME THIS YEAR, SO WE MUST EXPECT THE
FRG TO BE LOOKING FOR AREAS IN WHICH IT CAN COMPROMISE
OR COOPERATE WITH THE SOVIET UNION SO THAT ITS
BILATERAL RELATIONS, AS WELL AS DETENTE, CAN PROCEED.
HERE, AGAIN, A FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD REDOUND TO
OUR BENEFIT.

HUMAN RIGHTS.

GENSCHER IS A STRONG PROPONENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
HIS INITIATIVE IN THE UN ON A CONVENTION AGAINST THE
TAKING OF HOSTAGES IS PERHAPS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL STEP
THAT THE UN HAS TAKEN IN THIS FIELD IN YEARS. HE ALSO
PROPOSED A HUMAN RIGHTS COURT, BUT BACKED DOWN ON THIS
POINT WHEN THE SOVIET UNION ALLEGED THAT HE MADE THE
PROPOSAL IN ORDER TO MEDDLE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF
THE GDR. THE FATE OF THESE TWO PROPOSALS ILLUSTRATES
WELL THE FRG'S DILEMMA ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS:
INTENSE INTEREST, BUT CAUTION IN DEALING WITH THE
SOVIET UNION. THERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS AND EVEN DOUBTS
IN BONN OVER OUR RECENT ACTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
GREAT INTEREST IN WHERE THEY WILL LEAD.

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IT WOULD HELP US IF YOU COULD EXPLAIN TO GENSCHER
THE BACKGROUND OF OUR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS VIS-A-VIS

BOTH THE EAST AND SOUTH AMERICA ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

OTHER TOPICS.

I DO NOT KNOW HOW MUCH TIME YOU WILL HAVE WITH MR. GENSCHER, AND WHAT OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS OTHER TOPICS. IF YOU WISH TO TAKE THE TIME, YOU MAY WISH TO REINFORCE WITH GENSCHER OUR INTEREST IN ECONOMIC AID TO PORTUGAL, TO BRIEF HIM ON MR. CLIFFORD'S MISSION TO CYPRUS, AND PARTICULARLY TO EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE ASSISTANCE HIS GOVERNMENT GAVE US IN THE UGANDAN CRISIS. SINCE YOU WILL BE MEETING WITH HIM ON BERLIN IN MAY, YOU MAY WISH TO LEAVE THAT TOPIC FOR THEN EXCEPT FOR A REITERATION OF OUR CONSTANCY. I RECOMMEND YOU NOT GET INVOLVED IN POLITICAL MILITARY MATTERS, SINCE DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER WILL BE DISCUSSING THOSE IN WASHINGTON AND GENSCHER MAY WANT TO STAY AWAY FROM THEM.

4. GENSCHER'S POLITICAL AND PERSONAL POSITIONS.

GENSCHER IS THE UNCHALLENGED LEADER OF THE SMALL FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FDP), THE JUNIOR PARTNER IN THE GOVERNING COALITION. BECAUSE THE FDP PROVIDES THE MAKEWEIGHT FOR THE GOVERNMENT COALITION, GENSCHER AND HIS PARTY HAVE POWER AND INFLUENCE FAR BEYOND THE 39 SEATS THE PARTY HOLDS IN THE BUNDESTAG. THE FDP IS MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN ITS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTNER AND USES ITS INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS. OF GREATEST INTEREST TO US IS THAT GENSCHER TAKES A MORE RESERVED POLICY TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION THAN MANY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WOULD LIKE. HE IS DETERMINED NOT TO COMPROMISE POSITIONS HE CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL WHEN
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DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS. GENSCHER IS REGARDED BY SOME QUARTERS IN MOSCOW AND BONN AS THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO SEVERAL PENDING FRG-USSR AGREEMENTS REGARDING BERLIN.

EVER SINCE HE BECAME FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE SPRING OF 1974 GENSCHER HAS BEEN FACED WITH A DUAL PROBLEM. HE MUST FIND A PLACE IN THE SUN OUT OF THE SHADOW OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND HE MUST COMPETE WITH SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT WHO IS ALSO ACTIVE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS. IN THE PAST, GENSCHER HAS BEEN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO WHAT HE CONSIDERS UPSTAGING ON THE PART OF SCHMIDT AND BRANDT. HE FEELS THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE USED SPD PARTY MACHINERY AND BRANDT'S INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS TO CONDUCT A SEPARATE AND PRIVATE BRAND OF FOREIGN POLICY --WHICH SOMETIMES DIFFERS

FROM THE OFFICAL FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.
NOW THAT THE OLD BRANDT/BAHR TEAM IS BACK TOGETHER AT
SPD HEADQUARTERS, GENSCHER HAS EVEN MORE CAUSE FOR
CONCERN. THE RECENT VISITS TO WASHINGTON BY BRANDT,
BAHR AND EHMKE HAVE REINFORCED GENSCHER'S DESIRE TO
COME TO WASHINGTON SOON AND TO ESTABLISH HIS OWN
RELATIONS WITH SENIOR AMERICANS.
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